1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

hazy, the clouds heavy, and always dark; while *Kamtſchatka* appears like another world, where the land lies higher, and the air is clear and ſerene.

The ſnow lies always deeper upon the *Lopatka* than upon the northern ſide of *Kamtſchatka*; ſo that, if it be twelve feet in depth about the *Lopatka*, upon the *Awatſcha* and the Great River it is not ſo deep by one third, and at the ſame time lies lighter and more equal, by reaſon that the winds are not ſo high there. About *Teghil* and *Karaga* the ſnow is ſeldom deeper than a foot and a half: hence the reaſon appears why the *Kamtſchadales* do not keep rein-deer as well as the *Koreki*, but depend upon the fiſh for their nouriſhment, which upon the north-eaſt and north-weſt coaſt from the Great River is ſo ſcarce, that unleſs theſe barbarous creatures could digeſt every thing they can get down, they would not be able to ſupport life; for, though throughout the country of *Kamtſchatka* there would be food enough for rein-deer, yet the depth of the ſnow renders it impoſſible to maintain a number of them; and what rein-deers we had occaſion for in the expedition were never kept here in the winter, the depth of the ſnow making it hard for them to dig down to their food.

The force of the ſun reflected from the ſnow in the ſpring is ſo great, that the inhabitants are as tawny as *Indians*; nay, they have their eyes ſpoiled and blinded thereby: therefore the natives generally wear covers pierced with ſmall holes, or nets of black hair, to leſſen the number of rays which would otherwiſe fall upon their eyes. This is occaſioned by the great winds, which drive the ſnow ſo cloſe together that it is almoſt as hard and ſolid as ice, and will not allow the rays of the ſun to penetrate, but reflects them with greater force upon the very delicate and ſenſible nerves of the retina than they are able to bear. Mr. *Steller* ſays, that neceſſity forced him to find out a remedy for the pain and inflammation of the eyes, which generally gave relief in ſix

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

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Village, 18th-century engraving.

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At the time of the first Russian acquaintance with Kamchatka the Itel'mens maintained a primitive-communal order. "Until its subjection to Russian rule," wrote Krasheninnikov, "this wild people lived in a state of complete freedom; it had no masters, was subjected to no laws, and paid tribute to no one. Old and courageous people had superior position [554] in every ostrozhka, but this meant only that their advice was hearkened to. Generally, there was equality among them, no one could issue commands to anyone else, and no one had the right to mete out punishment on his own [614] to anyone." Every village was inhabited by members of one clan. The semidugout housed several related families; the number of its inhabitants [342] sometimes was as high as 100. They were bound by collective production [592] and consumption. The custom of vendetta prevailed.

The woman held a high position in family and social life. Many features of matriarchy persisted in the Itel'men social system. These included the [562] husband's moving into the wife's home, or at least temporary residence [591] in the father-in-law's house; marriage by working for the bride, which [583] involved the groom's moving to her home and performing various tasks. But the matriarchal organization was already in a state of disintegration [182] in the beginning of the 18th century. Constant wars among individual clans [721] and with neighboring peoples, waged for the sake of seizing women and captives, who were partially turned into slaves, intensified this process. The arrival of Russians in Kamchatka led to rapid changes in the economy [648] and life of the Itel'mens.

The religious notions of the Itel'mens, according to 18th-century explorers, and primarily Krasheninnikov, had many elements in common [671] with the beliefs of the Koryaks and Chukchi. These included the idea of the raven-creator, rituals and celebrations connected with the annual economic [796] cycle, whale, bear and other ceremonials, consisting of "treating" and "giving gifts" to the animals killed in the hunt. The most important of these was the fall festival, ending in "purification"—passing through hoops of birch twigs. The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest